

UNCLASSIFIED

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ACTION INR-01

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4663

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[REDACTED] SECTION 01 OF 07 LIMA 00228

FOR INR/B AND ARA/AND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINR, PGOV, PTER, SNAR, PHUM, PE
SUBJECT: MONTESINOS: RUMORS AND FACTS ON A
- POWERFUL BEHIND-THE-SCENES PLAYER

REFS: A) 91 STATE 398990 B) 90 LIMA 12153
- C) 91 LIMA 17434

1. [REDACTED]/NOFORN - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS REMAINS ONE
OF PRESIDENT ALBERTO FUJIMORI'S MOST IMPORTANT

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-- ALBEIT SHADOWY -- ADVISORS ON MILITARY AND
SECURITY MATTERS. MONTESINOS HAS REACHED
NEAR-MYTHICAL/SINISTER PROPORTIONS IN LIMA'S
RUMOR MILL. NEVERTHELESS, HE WIELDS
CONSIDERABLE POWER AND HAS EARNED HIMSELF AT
LEAST THE FEAR AND ATTENTION OF MOST OF PERU'S
POLITICAL (AND MILITARY) ELITES. OF CONCERN FOR
U.S. POLICY IS THE EXISTENCE OF INCONCLUSIVE
EVIDENCE AND RECURRING ALLEGATIONS LINKING
MONTESINOS TO NARCOTICS CORRUPTION. THERE ARE
SIGNIFICANTLY MORE RUMORS THAN FACTS SURROUNDING
MONTESINOS AND PRESENTED BELOW IS WHAT WE HAVE
ON BOTH SCORES. END SUMMARY.

3. THIS CABLE RESPONDS IN PART TO A BIOGRAPHIC

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: DONALD A. JOHNSTON
DATE/CASE ID: 16 NOV 2001 200004441

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COLLECTION REQUEST PER REF A IN ANTICIPATION OF
CARTAGENA II.

4. THE REAL VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS REMAINS MORE
SHADOW THAN SUBSTANCE. THE BURST OF PUBLICITY
IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1990 CONCERNING HIS
REPORTED INFLUENCE OVER FUJIMORI ON POLICE AND
MILITARY FIRINGS AND APPOINTMENTS (REF B)
SUBSIDED THROUGH APRIL 1991. THEN THE
INFLUENTIAL WEEKLY "CARETAS" MAGAZINE RAN A
SERIES OF ARTICLES REPORTING MONTESINOS'
INFLUENCE WITH THE PRESIDENT AND ALLEGING TIES
BETWEEN MONTESINOS AND KNOWN DRUG
PERSONALITIES. PRESIDENT FUJIMORI TOLD
REPORTERS THAT MONTESINOS WAS HIS FAMILY
ATTORNEY BUT NOT A PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR, AND
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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INDEED THE NAME OF THE 48 YEAR OLD MONTESINOS
DOES NOT APPEAR ON ANY EXECUTIVE BRANCH
PERSONNEL CHART. MONTESINOS HAD EVEN RESIGNED,
UNDER FIRE, AS DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL
INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (SIN). BUT HE WAS LATER
SECRETLY APPOINTED TO HEAD SIN'S ADVISORY
COMMITTEE (COASIN) AND EVIDENCE PERSISTS THAT
MONTESINOS STILL WIELDS CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE
AND RETAINS HIS POSITION AS A CLOSE PRESIDENTIAL
CONFIDANT ON MILITARY AND SECURITY MATTERS. IF
MONTESINOS APPEARED A SHADOW BEFORE, HE IS A
PENUMBRA NOW.

5. WHEN PRESIDENT FUJIMORI ANNOUNCES A NEW
EXECUTIVE APPOINTMENT, THE QUESTION OFTEN ASKED
FIRST IS, "WHAT WAS THE NEW APPOINTEE'S
RELATIONSHIP TO MONTESINOS?" THE APPEARANCE OF
ALLEGED MONTESINOS CRONIES IN IMPORTANT
POSITIONS IN THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR'S OFFICE
FOR THE CONTROL OF DRUGS SPARKED THE DEBATE
ANEW. THE [REDACTED] MINISTERS OF EDUCATION
(ANTONIOLI) AND DEFENSE (MALCA) ARE THOUGHT TO
OWE THEIR RETENTION IN THE THIRD FUJIMORI
CABINET TO MONTESINOS' INFLUENCE. FUJIMORI
TAMPERED WITH THE ARMY PROMOTION LIST TO COLONEL
REPORTEDLY IN PART, TO TAKE CARE OF MONTESINOS'
FAVORITES IN THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE.
FOR INSTANCE, THE NEW HEAD OF ARMY INTELLIGENCE

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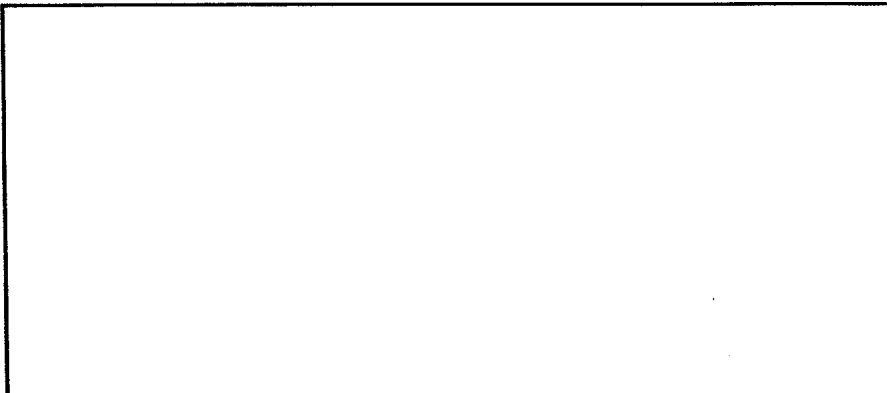
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WAS A FELLOW ARTILLERY OFFICER WITH MONTESINOS.



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6. AS REPORTED IN REF B, MONTESINOS WAS A
RISING STAR IN THE PERUVIAN MILITARY. RANKED
EIGHTH AMONG 14 ARTILLERY GRADUATES FROM THE
MILITARY ACADEMY IN 1966, HE MADE CAPTAIN
SHORTLY BEFORE THE OCTOBER 3, 1968 MILITARY

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ACTION INR-01

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
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[REDACTED] SECTION 02 OF 07 LIMA 00228

FOR INR/B AND ARA/AND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINR, PGOV, PTER, SNAR, PHUM, PE
SUBJECT: MONTESINOS: RUMORS AND FACTS ON A
COUP. ON MAY 1, 1973 HE WAS APPOINTED CHIEF OF
STAFF TO ARMY GENERAL EDGARDO MERCADO JARRIN,
WHO WAS THEN PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT/GENERAL

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JUAN VELASCO.

7. GENERAL MERCADO TOLD POLOFF THAT MONTESINOS WAS A VERY CAPABLE OFFICER, ESPECIALLY ADEPT AT REMEMBERING THE DAY TO DAY DETAILS OF OFFICE BUSINESS; A MAN WHO NEVER FORGOT A NAME OR A [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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FACE. BUT THE FORMER PRIME MINISTER'S SOMEWHAT RESTRAINED ASSESSMENT OF MONTESINOS APPEARS INFLUENCED BY SUBSEQUENT EVENTS. OTHERS HAVE TOLD US THAT MONTESINOS WAS BRILLIANT, MANAGING THE PM'S OFFICE WITH AN IRON FIST AND BECOMING INDISPENSABLE TO MERCADO.

8. ACCORDING TO TWO VELASCO ERA INSIDERS, MONTESINOS' FALL FROM GRACE BEGAN IN JULY 1975.

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] DURING BOTH THE VELASCO AND MORALES BERMUDEZ ERAS, TOLD POLOFF IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS THAT MONTESINOS AND A NUMBER OF MID-LEVEL ARMY OFFICERS LEARNED THAT VELASCO WAS ABOUT TO BE OUSTED. THE ONCE VIGOROUS GENERAL HAD BEEN ILL FOR TWO YEARS AND ONE LEG HAD BEEN AMPUTATED. EVERYONE AGREED HE NEEDED TO BE REPLACED. ALTHOUGH VELASCO HAD BEEN MANIPULATED INTO DESIGNATING MORALES BERMUDEZ AS HIS SUCCESSOR, MONTESINOS AGREED WITH A LEFTIST GROUP OF OFFICERS WHO THOUGHT MORALES WAS CENTRIST. THE PLOTTERS CONVINCED GENERAL JORGE FERNANDEZ MALDONADO, VELASCO'S MINISTER OF ENERGY AND MINES WHO HAD ENGINEERED THE IPC AND CERRO DE PASCO MINING COMPANY NATIONALIZATIONS, TO REACH FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

9. ON JULY 20, 1975 THE PLOT WAS EXPOSED AMIDST CONSIDERABLE PUBLICITY. ACCORDING TO THESE TWO [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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SOURCES, THE ABORTED COUP ACCELERATED VELASCO'S REMOVAL WHICH OCCURRED A MONTH LATER. THERE

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WERE NO ARRESTS AMONG THE PLOTTERS, BUT A NUMBER OF THE ACCOMPLICES, INCLUDING MONTESINOS, WERE MARKED MEN. FOLLOWING VELASCO'S OUSTER IN AUGUST 1975, ARMY COMMANDER GENERAL ARBULU GALLIANI BANISHED MONTESINOS TO AN ARTILLERY POSITION ON THE BORDER WITH ECUADOR.

10. IN AUGUST 1976 THE STILL-BANISHED MONTESINOS TRAVELED TO THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE IVP PROGRAM SPONSORED AND PAID FOR BY THE U.S. EMBASSY IN LIMA. UPON HIS RETURN, HE WAS CHARGED WITH DESERTION AND COURT-MARTIALED. IT IS CLAIMED HE FORGED THE DOCUMENT GRANTING HIM PERMISSION TO LEAVE PERU. HE WAS HELD FOR 16 MONTHS FOLLOWING HIS DISHONORABLE DISCHARGE FROM THE ARMY ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1976. HIS CASE WAS FINALLY HEARD EARLY IN 1977 AND MONTESINOS WAS CONVICTED OF "LYING AND DISOBEDIENCE."

11. PARENTHETICALLY, [REDACTED] A FORMER NAVY OFFICER AND CLOSE FRIEND OF MONTESINOS, TOLD US THAT MONTESINOS NEARLY DIED WHILE UNDER MILITARY DETENTION. MONTESINOS CLAIMED HE WAS POISONED. MILITARY HOSPITAL RECORDS SHOW HE HAD HEPATITIS. AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE HISTORY OF MONTESINOS BY MENDEL WINTER, OWNER OF LIMA'S CHANNEL TWO TELEVISION STATION, REVEALED THE SAME ALLEGATION. ACCORDING TO WITNESSES INTERVIEWED BY WINTER'S INVESTIGATOR,

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MONTESINOS' ATTORNEY SUCCEEDED IN HAVING THE SENTENCE REDUCED FROM FIVE TO TWO YEARS BECAUSE OF MONTESINOS' ILL HEALTH. MONTESINOS SERVED TWO-THIRDS OF HIS SENTENCE AND WAS RELEASED ON SUPERVISED LIBERTY.

12. IN 1983, A SEPARATE CHARGE WAS FILED AGAINST MONTESINOS IN MILITARY COURT FOR TREASON, RELATING TO THE ACCUSATION THAT MONTESINOS HAD SOLD DOCUMENTS TO THE UNITED STATES, AND FURTHER, THAT HE HAD BEEN PASSING MILITARY SECRETS TO THE PERUVIAN NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (SIN). THESE ALLEGATIONS HAD FIRST SURFACED IN 1975 WHILE MONTESINOS WAS

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R 071812Z JAN 92
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[REDACTED] SECTION 03 OF 07 LIMA 00228

FOR INR/B AND ARA/AND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINR, PGOV, PTER, SNAR, PHUM, PE
SUBJECT: MONTESINOS: RUMORS AND FACTS ON A
STILL WITH PRIME MINISTER MERCADO JARRIN.
ACCORDING TO "CARETAS," GENERAL MERCADO
PERSONALLY INTERVENED IN SUPPORT OF HIS AIDE
WHEN THE CHARGE OF SELLING SECRETS TO THE U.S.
WAS ORIGINALLY RAISED, BUT MERCADO DENIES THE
STORY.

13. WITH THE NEW CHARGE, MONTESINOS FLED PERU. B1
[REDACTED] TOLD US, AND IT IS ALSO MENTIONED IN JOSE
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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FERNANDEZ SALVATECCHI'S BOOK "YO ACUSO," THAT
MONTESINOS CROSSED THE BORDER INTO ECUADOR WHERE
HE WAS ARRESTED AND ALLEGEDLY TORTURED BY
ECUADORIAN SECURITY FORCES WHO SUSPECTED THAT
MONTESINOS WAS A SPY. THE 1983 TREASON CHARGES
WERE DISMISSED IN MILITARY COURT IN 1984 AND
MONTESINOS RETURNED TO PERU IN 1985. ACCORDING
TO RESEARCH BY "CARETAS," ARMY GENERAL MONZON
ARRUNATEGUI SUBSEQUENTLY ISSUED AN ORDER IN 1985
PROHIBITING MONTESINOS' ENTRANCE ONTO ANY
MILITARY INSTALLATION IN PERU

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THE DRUG ACCUSATION

14. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OR RUMOR THAT MONTESINOS WAS INVOLVED IN DRUG-RELATED CORRUPTION DURING HIS TRUNCATED ARMY CAREER. BUT THE WITEMBURY LAW FIRM, WHICH MONTESINOS JOINED (EITHER UPON HIS RELEASE FROM DETENTION IN 1978 OR HIS RETURN TO PERU IN 1985,) IS ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN DEEPLY INVOLVED IN CASES INVOLVING NARCOTICS CORRUPTION, INCLUDING THE FAMOUS VILLA COCA CASE.

15. IN THE VILLA COCA CASE, TWO POLICE GENERALS, CHAVEZ GONZALES AND RODOLFO BALLESTEROS CUEVA, WERE ACCUSED OF IMPEDING THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE CHARGES AGAINST LATER CONVICTED DRUG LORD REYNOSO RODRIGUEZ LOPEZ. MONTESINOS DEFENDED THE TWO POLICE OFFICERS.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] FILES INCLUDE INCONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE OF MONTESINOS' RELATIONSHIP WITH THE TRAFFICKERS. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE PHOTOGRAPHS SUGGESTING PERSONAL FRIENDSHIPS, AND FRIENDS OF MONTESINOS WERE CLOSE TO KNOWN TRAFFICKERS -- THE LINKS ARE VAGUE AND ENTIRELY CIRCUMSTANTIAL.

B7(D)

16. BUT ONE ASPECT OF THE VILLA COCA CASE SUGGESTS A DIRECT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MONTESINOS AND RODRIGUEZ. POLICE INVESTIGATION NUMBER 032/89 SUBMITTED TO THE FOURTH CRIMINAL COURT, ALLEGED THAT A LETTER WRITTEN FROM PRISON BY RODRIGUEZ ON NOVEMBER 17, 1988 WAS SENT TO MONTESINOS. THE LETTER MENTIONED A LARGE SUM OF MONEY WHICH WAS TO BE USED BY MONTESINOS TO PAY UNNAMED INDIVIDUALS. SUBSEQUENT INVESTIGATIONS CAST DOUBT ON THE VALIDITY OF THE ALLEGED RODRIGUEZ LETTER. HANDWRITING EXPERTS INSISTED THE SIGNATURE WAS HIS, BUT POLICE INVESTIGATORS WERE ABLE TO FIND NO TYPEWRITER IN THE PRISON OR IN POLICE FACILITIES TO WHICH RODRIGUEZ HAD ACCESS THAT MATCHED THE TYPE IN THE LETTER (OFFICIAL COURT DOCUMENTS INDICATE RODRIGUEZ, UNDER OATH, DENIED ANY RELATIONSHIP WITH OR KNOWLEDGE OF MONTESINOS.) NOTWITHSTANDING THE

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APPARENT AUTHENTICITY OF THE SIGNATURE, THE
LETTER WAS DISCOUNTED AS VALID EVIDENCE.

ON THE COMEBACK TRAIL: REGAINING RESPECTABILITY

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
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17. MONTESINOS USED THE VILLA COCA CONNECTION
TO REGAIN ACCESS TO THE MILITARY. AS WE
REPORTED IN AN APRIL 17, 1991 MEMCON, THE
PROSECUTOR IN THE VILLA COCA CASE WAS HUGO
DENEGRÍ, WHO IN 1989 WAS PROMOTED TO ATTORNEY
GENERAL (FISCAL DE LA NACION). IN THE MIDST OF
THE ON-GOING ALLEGATIONS OF MILITARY COMPLICITY
IN THE MAY 1988 CAYARA MASSACRE, ATTORNEY
GENERAL DENEGRÍ CONVINCED GENERAL VALDIVIA
DUENAS, ACCUSED OF THE KILLINGS, TO ACCEPT SOME
ADVICE FROM HIS ONE TIME COURTROOM OPPONENT, NOW
FRIEND AND ADVISOR, VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS.
VALDIVIA DUENAS AND HIS FELLOW GENERALS FOLLOWED
MONTESINOS' ADVICE TO STONEWALL, WITNESSES TO

[REDACTED]
NNNN
[REDACTED]

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ACTION INR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	DODE-00	HA-09	INM-01
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	SS-01	/020W					

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FOR INR/B AND ARA/AND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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SUBJECT: MONTESINOS: RUMORS AND FACTS ON A
THE CAYARA MASSACRE "DISAPPEARED," INVESTIGATOR
CARLOS ESCOBAR FLED PERU IN FEAR OF HIS LIFE,
AND THE CAYARA CASE FADED (TEMPORARILY) AWAY.
IT WAS MONTESINOS' ASSISTANCE TO ACCUSED ARMY
GENERAL VALDIVIA WHICH REPORTEDLY GAVE
MONTESINOS NEW ACCESS TO THE MILITARY, AND SOME
RESPECT AMONG OFFICERS WHO KNEW OF HIS 1970'S
DIFFICULTIES.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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18. NOTE: CONTACTS CONFIRM THAT THE 1986 ORDER
EXCLUDING MONTESINOS FROM MILITARY FACILITIES
WAS STILL IN EFFECT. IT TOOK AGREEMENT FROM ALL
THE ASSEMBLED ARMY GENERALS TO PERMIT MONTESINOS
TO ENTER THE MINISTRY OF WAR (IN CONTRAVENTION
OF THE YET TO BE RESCINDED BAN.) BUT ONCE
ALLOWED IN TO ADDRESS THE MEETING, MONTESINOS
CARRIED THE DAY. THE ORDER PROHIBITING
MONTESINOS' ENTRANCE ONTO MILITARY PROPERTY WAS
OFFICIALLY RESCINDED ON JULY 11, 1990 TWO WEEKS
PRIOR TO FUJIMORI'S INAUGURATION. END NOTE.

19. ACCORDING TO THIS SOURCE, A GRATEFUL
VALDIVIA ADDED HIS VOICE TO THOSE URGING
FUJIMORI TO HIRE MONTESINOS AS AN ADVISOR.
MONTESINOS RETURNED THE FAVOR BY URGING FUJIMORI
TO PRESSURE THE CONGRESS AFTER THE SENATE'S
DECEMBER 1990 REJECTION OF VALDIVIA'S
PROMOTION. THE SENATE GAVE IN ON THE SECOND
VOTE AND CONFIRMED VALDIVIA'S PROMOTION. (ON
JANUARY 1, 1992 VALDIVIA WAS SCHEDULED TO BECOME
CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMED FORCES' JOINT
COMMAND AFTER HAVING BEEN HEAD THE SECOND
MILITARY REGION HEADQUARTERED IN LIMA, THE MOST
POWERFUL FIELD COMMAND IN THE ARMY. HOWEVER, HE
REMAINS PLAGUED BY THE CAYARA MASSACRE WHICH IS
FORMALLY ON THE DOCKET OF THE INTERAMERICAN
COURT OF JUSTICE.)

ADVISER TO THE FUJIMORIS

[REDACTED]
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20. CONSIDERABLY MORE IS KNOWN ABOUT HOW MONTESINOS ENTERED THE INNER CIRCLE OF FUJIMORI'S ADVISORS. THE WIDELY ACCEPTED VIEW IS THAT MONTESINOS WAS RECOMMENDED TO THE FUTURE PRESIDENT BY FRANCISCO LOAYZA, A ONE TIME FRIEND AND CAMPAIGN ADVISOR TO FUJIMORI WHO SUBSEQUENTLY FELL FROM FAVOR. LOAYZA CLAIMED IN AN APRIL 1, 1991 "CARETAS" INTERVIEW THAT HE INTRODUCED MONTESINOS TO FUJIMORI WHEN FUJIMORI ASKED FOR SOME ADVICE ON HIS REAL ESTATE PROBLEMS. LOAYZA KNEW MONTESINOS FROM THE DAYS WHEN BOTH WORKED FOR MERCADO JARRIN. INITIALLY MONTESINOS ONLY DID LEGAL WORK FOR THE FAMILY, INCLUDING MANAGING SOME REAL ESTATE TRANSACTIONS FOR MRS. FUJIMORI. IT WAS BECAUSE OF HIS ADVICE ON THESE REAL ESTATE MATTERS THAT MONTESINOS ROSE TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE WITH THE PRESIDENT.

21. NOTE: LOAYZA WAS PURGED, AT LEAST FOR A WHILE, FROM THE FUJIMORI INNER-CIRCLE SHORTLY AFTER THE INAUGURATION. LOAYZA BLAMED MONTESINOS FOR THIS, CLAIMING THAT MONTESINOS FABRICATED AN INTELLIGENCE REPORT ON A FAKE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT TO GET LOAYZA TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. DURING HIS ABSENCE, LOAYZA WAS SOMEHOW EXCISED FROM FUJIMORI'S ENTOURAGE. END NOTE.

DISPLAYING POWER: MONTESINOS VS. CARETAS MAGAZINE

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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22. EVIDENCE OF MONTESINOS' CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE WAS DISPLAYED IN A 1991 LAWSUIT AGAINST ENRIQUE ZILERI, PUBLISHER OF PERU'S LARGEST SELLING WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE, "CARETAS." ON JUNE 10 "CARETAS" RAN A COVER STORY ON MONTESINOS' RELATIONSHIP TO A COLOMBIAN LATER CHARGED WITH NARCOTICS ACTIVITIES. BRIEFLY PUT, IN 1979 COLOMBIAN JAIME TAMAYO RENTED A HOUSE IN THE UPPER-CLASS LIMA NEIGHBORHOOD OF CAMACHO. MONTESINOS APPEARED ON THE CONTRACT AS A GUARANTOR. THE HOUSE WAS

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RAIDED AND COCAINE AND DRUG PARAPHERNALIA
FOUND. TAMAYO WAS CHARGED. MONTESINOS LATER

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[REDACTED] SECTION 05 OF 07 LIMA 00228

FOR INR/B AND ARA/AND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINR, PGOV, PTER, SNAR, PHUM, PE
SUBJECT: MONTESINOS: RUMORS AND FACTS ON A
TOLD THE COURT THAT HE DID NOT KNOW TAMAYO
PERSONALLY AND THAT HE HAD SIGNED THE CONTRACT
SINCE A FOREIGNER COULD NOT RENT A HOUSE WITHOUT
A PERUVIAN'S SIGNATURE. TAMAYO WAS NEVER
ARRESTED AND REMAINS AT LARGE.

23. ZILERI STATED THAT THREE DAYS BEFORE THE
MONTESINOS ARTICLE APPEARED HE WAS CALLED BY A
PERSON CLAIMING TO REPRESENT MONTESINOS. THE

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CALLER SUGGESTED A "DEAL AND A CONVERSATION"
ABOUT THE SOON TO BE PUBLISHED ARTICLE. ZILERI
SAID HE WAS SURPRISED THAT THE CALLER KNEW OF
THE CLOSELY HELD DRAFT ARTICLE. ZILERI TOLD THE
CALLER THAT THE ARTICLE WOULD BE PUBLISHED BUT
THAT HE WOULD BE PLEASED TO INTERVIEW MONTESINOS
AND PRINT HIS SIDE OF THE STORY. THE FOLLOWING
DAY "CARETAS" RECEIVED A JUDICIAL NOTIFICATION

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CHARGING ZILERI AND "CARETAS" WITH DEFAMATION AGAINST MONTESINOS. SINCE HE HAD ALREADY BEEN CHARGED, ZILERI RAN THE ARTICLE ANYWAY.

24. TWO DAYS AFTER THE ARTICLE WAS PUBLISHED (INCLUDING A "CARETAS" COVER DRAWING OF MONTESINOS), ZILERI APPEARED BEFORE A COURT ON THE DEFAMATION CHARGES. ZILERI WAS REPRESENTED BY ELIAS MENDOZA, A LIMA ATTORNEY OF CONSIDERABLE PRESTIGE, FREDEMO CANDIDATE FOR THE SENATE IN 1990 AND LIKELY PPC CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR OF LIMA IN 1992. EVERYONE WE SPOKE WITH AT THE TIME SAID THE LAW SUIT WOULD BE LAUGHED OUT OF COURT; ELIAS MENDOZA WAS TOO POWERFUL, HIS LAW FIRM ONE OF THE TWO MOST INFLUENTIAL IN THE CITY, AND THE SUIT ITSELF WAS SPECIOUS. ACCORDING TO ATTORNEYS WE SPOKE WITH, THERE WAS NOTHING DEFAMATORY AT ALL ABOUT THE ARTICLE. WE NOTE THAT BY PERUVIAN STANDARDS OF POLITICAL NEWS REPORTING, THE ARTICLE WAS VERY BLAND.

25. IN JULY, JUDGE MERCEDES TELLO PINIERO RULED AGAINST "CARETAS," ORDERING ZILERI TO PAY USD
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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40,000 IN RESTITUTION AND PERFORM A NUMBER OF HOURS OF COMMUNITY SERVICE. ZILERI WAS FURTHER ORDERED NOT TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY DURING THE PERIOD OF HIS COMMUNITY SERVICE. JUDGE TELLO FOUND FOR MONTESINOS BASED ON "CARETAS'" USE OF THE WORD "RASPUTIN" TO DESCRIBE MONTESINOS' RELATIONSHIP WITH PRESIDENT FUJIMORI. SHE ALSO NOTED AN AUGUST 20, 1990 "CARETAS" STORY WHICH LINKED MONTESINOS TO AN ARTICLE IN ANOTHER WEEKLY MAGAZINE CALLED "OIGA" ABOUT A DESERTER FROM THE COMANDO RODRIGO FRANCO (CRF) DEATH SQUAD. ZILERI APPEALED, BUT AN AUGUST 18 SUPERIOR COURT RULING UPHELD THE FIRST DECISION. ZILERI HAS SINCE MADE A FINAL APPEAL TO THE SUPREME COURT, WHICH IS STILL PENDING.

26. LOCAL ATTORNEYS AND JOURNALISTS WERE STUNNED BY THE RULING. MENDEL WINTER (OWNER OF LIMA'S "CHANNEL TWO" TELEVISION STATION) AND WELL-KNOWN REPORTER GUSTAVO GORRITI TOLD POLOFF IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS THAT LIMA JOURNALISTS

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ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE RULING, AND
TERRIFIED OF RUNNING ANYTHING ON MONTESINOS.
GORRITI ADDED THAT ZILERI WAS "FRIGHTENED" BY
EVIDENCE THAT MONTESINOS WAS ABLE TO INFLUENCE
THE COURT'S RULING IN THIS CASE.

27. MUCH OF THE MATERIAL IN THE "CARETAS"
REPORT MAY HAVE BEEN LEAKED TO "CARETAS" BY
WINTER. POLOFF MET WINTER IN APRIL 1991.
WINTER GAVE US A SUMMARY OF THE INVESTIGATION HE

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HAD PAID FOR FROM HIS OWN FUNDS. WINTER TOLD US
HE INTENDED TO DROP THE MATTER. HE CLAIMED TO
HAVE SPOKEN TO ANOTHER VICTIM OF MONTESINOS'
REVENGE, ARMY GENERAL JAIME SALINAS, WHO WARNED
WINTER THAT HE WAS NOT RICH ENOUGH TO EVADE
MONTESINOS' LONG REACH. (SALINAS, A ONE TIME
SHINING STAR IN THE ARMY, WAS BANISHED TO THE
INTERAMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD IN WASHINGTON IN
1990, ALLEGEDLY FOR COUP PLOTTING.) THE
MATERIAL WINTER SHARED WITH US MATCHES IN MANY
IMPORTANT DETAILS THE ALLEGATIONS SUBSEQUENTLY
PRINTED IN "CARETAS."

MONTESINOS' MAN IN THE TERRORISM POLICE

NNNN

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ACTION INR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	DODE-00	HA-09	INM-01
	INRE-00	ADS-00	NSAE-00	PM-01	P-01	SCT-03	SP-01
	SS-01	/020W					

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FOR INR/B AND ARA/AND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINR, PGOV, PTER, SNAR, PHUM, PE
SUBJECT: MONTESINOS: RUMORS AND FACTS ON A

28. THERE ARE OTHER SIGNS THAT MONTESINOS
RETAINS CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE. POLICE GENERAL
ANTONIO VIDAL WAS FIRED FROM THE PNP CIRCA 1985
(HE WAS THEN A COLONEL). [REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED] MONTESINOS
WAS HIS ATTORNEY. VIDAL WAS REINSTATED, WITH
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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FULL BACK PAY FOR HIS TIME OUT OF SERVICE, IN
OCTOBER 1989. THE PNP RUMOR MILL CREDITS
MONTESINOS FOR THIS. IN 1990 HE WAS APPOINTED
POLICE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE SIN AND REASSIGNED
IN 1991 AS DEPUTY TO THEN DIRCOTE
(ANTITERRORISM POLICE) HEAD JHON CARO IN 1991.

B1

29. VIDAL REPLACED JHON CARO AS HEAD OF DIRCOTE
IN NOVEMBER 1991 [REDACTED]

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MONTESINOS' ROLE IN MILITARY RETIREMENTS

31. MONTESINOS REPORTEDLY PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN DRAWING UP A LIST OF SOME 20 SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS THAT WERE TO BE ASKED TO STEP DOWN IN THE 1991 ANNUAL END OF YEAR ROUND OF RETIREMENTS. THE LIST WAS PROVIDED TO PRESIDENT FUJIMORI BY NOW MINISTER OF DEFENSE VICTOR MALCA. ACCORDING TO SOME RUMORS, THEN ARMY CHIEF GENERAL VILLANUEVA BALKED AT THE LIST AND WAS THEN ASKED TO RETIRE A FEW WEEKS EARLY. ANOTHER SCENARIO HAS FUJIMORI ASKING VILLANUEVA TO STEP DOWN EARLY SO THAT FUJIMORI'S NEW ARMY CHIEF, GENERAL HERMOZA, COULD MOVE ON IMPLEMENTING THE RETIREMENT LIST. EITHER WAY, MONTESINOS' HAND WAS WIDELY SEEN IN THE RETIREMENT LIST'S COMPOSITION.

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SCT-03 SP-01

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34. [REDACTED] AND NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE
JULIO SALAZAR MONROE WERE THE ONLY TWO FLAG RANK
MILITARY OFFICERS WHOSE PROMOTIONS WERE NOT

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ACCEPTED BY CONGRESS IN DECEMBER 1991. BOTH
SENIOR OFFICERS HELD INTELLIGENCE PORTFOLIOS AND
TO SOME EXTENT SUFFERED FROM BEING IDENTIFIED BY

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CONGRESS AS TOO CLOSELY LINKED TO MONTESINOS
(REF C).

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

35. IT MUST BE UNDERScoreD THAT NEITHER IN THE CHARGES OF SPYING WHILE HE WAS AN ARMY OFFICER, NOR IN THE SUBSEQUENT ALLEGATIONS OF NARCOTICS CORRUPTION, IS THERE ANY INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE THAT VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS COMMITTED ANY ILLEGAL ACTS. THOUGH IT IS CLEAR THAT HE OR HIS FIRM DEFENDED ACCUSED TRAFFICKERS, THAT IN ITSELF IS NOT EVIDENCE OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR.

36. BUT IT IS ALSO WORTH NOTING THAT IN PERU

B1

[REDACTED]
MONTESINOS IS ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY VIEWED AS CORRUPT. HIS BIGGEST VICE MAY BE HIS HOWARD HUGHES-LIKE CRAVING FOR PRIVACY WHICH FEEDS THE RUMORS THAT HE IS A SHADOWY FIGURE. ADDITIONALLY, MANY OF THOSE WHO ACCUSE HIM ARE NOT THEMSELVES WITHOUT THE TAIN OF NARCOTICS CORRUPTION.

37. STILL, THE ULTIMATE ARBITER OF MONTESINOS' POWER IS FUJIMORI. FUJIMORI USES ADVISORS IN A MACHIAVELLIAN WAY, RELYING ON THEM IN SPORADIC

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
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ON-AGAIN OFF-AGAIN FASHION. FUJIMORI APPEARS
LOATHE TO ALLOW ANY ONE ADVISOR TO GAIN A
PREDOMINANT POSITION OF INFLUENCE FOR LONG.
QUAINTON##
[REDACTED]

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